THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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LIEBKNECHT and LUXEMBURG: How They Died.

ROSA LUXEMBURG.

"Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg have their place in the history of the world.

"The Lilliputians, who regard their story as a finale to the rule of Capitalism in Germany, think they can hush up a crime of such historical importance.

"We, however, shall speak. So, too, will the millions all the world over, who are filled with the spirit of the victims. In what corner of the earth can the criminals hide? What machinations can be used to preserve silence, when all the world calls for an answer?"

The Red Flag (*Die Rote Fahne*), the organ of the Spartacus group in Germany, on February 16th, contained an appeal from comrades Oscar Rusch, member of the Executive Council, and Hugo Struve, member of the Central Council of the German Republic. It was addressed to all proletarians and socialists, to the fair-minded people of the world, and to the German Government. These men had been summoned to attend the inquiry into the cases of "Liebknecht and Luxemburg." They declined to participate in the said inquiry on the ground that the authorities were guilty of neglecting to arrest the criminals, despite information and warnings repeatedly given. Instead, they demanded the appointment of a Special Commission to investigate the circumstances of the murder of comrades Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Dr. Rosa Luxemburg, the pioneers of the revolutionary proletarians. Further, they requested that those found guilty of the deed and their accomplices should be tried in a civil court.

A reply in the negative was received from Messrs. Ebert and Landsberg. Thereupon, a document giving the details of the double crime was sent to the Court of Law with the repeated request for arrest of the criminals whose names were given:—(1) Runge (Huntsman); (2) Dräger (Huntsman); (3) Göttinger (Chauffeur); (4) Probst (Sergeant); (5) Vogel (Lieutenant); (6) Grankow (Chauffeur); (7) Hall (Footman); (8) Petri (Captain). From the statement made by Dräger, it seems that the persons from number one to four planned the murder of Dr. Rosa Luxemburg.

According to Dräger's story these four decided that neither Dr. Karl Liebknecht nor Dr. Rosa Luxemburg should leave the Eden Hotel alive. The suggestion made by Runge was to shoot them just as they were being removed, and Dräger was asked to help. But he advised against shooting, pointing out that the noise would attract attention, and recommended the butt-ends of their guns as weapons. This course was decided upon, and the men unloaded their guns for safety. Dr. Liebknecht was laid low with one blow, but Dr. Luxemburg was given two blows on the head.

The persons mentioned from five to seven were accomplices, since they helped to conceal the bodies, and aided the murderers to escape. Dr. Rosa Luxemburg was supposed to be still living when these men dragged her body away, so if that be true, they are really guilty of her murder.

Scraps of conversation were overheard on the return of these men to the hotel, such as: "We took her over the bridge," "She's done for, she's floating by now." Captain Petri, on the witness of a waiter, is reported to have given the order that neither Dr. Liebknecht nor Dr. Luxemburg should reach the prison, for which they were bound, alive. When he heard of the success of his diabolical plan, he said: "The world should rejoice at being freed from these people who were guilty of such injury to the nation."

The dreadful truth is also disclosed that Comrades Liebknecht and Luxemburg were arrested without a warrant, for this act, Messrs. Möhring and Lindney should be brought to judgment. On behalf of the Court, a reply to these indictments was sent to the effect that there was a warrant out for Runge; but that Göttinger did not come under military jurisdiction. The arrest of Captain Petri was absolutely refused. Further conversations and correspondence with the Government representatives, who refused permission to the Liebknecht family to have a legal adviser present at the inquiry, convinced the friends of Comrades Liebknecht and Luxemburg that the Government inquiry was merely a sham.

All appeals for justice having failed, they now appeal to the general public to help to set aside the present military trial and make it possible for a civil trial to be carried through. In their eyes, it is the duty of the German people to bring to justice the murderers of these two great socialist pioneers.

REVOLUTION IN INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

A BID FOR THE PERPETUATION OF INDIAN D.O.R.A.

Our readers perhaps know that Justice Rowlatt, of the King's Bench Division, was sent to India to find ways and means to legalise D.O.R.A. in India. He, with the assistance of Indian Scotland Yard, and other colleagues, produced a report in which it is alleged that during the period when Great Britian was engaged in winning freedom for small nations in Europe, Indian revolutionaries, with the help of German gold, were preparing for revolution in India. The report admits that the Indian Government was able to deal effectively with the revolutionaries of India by employing the D.O.R.A., or rather the D.O.I.A. But at the termination of hostilities the *Defence of India Act* would automatically become inoperative. Therefore the recommendations of the Rowlatt Report have now been embodied by the Indian Government in the form of *Rowlatt Sedition Bills*. The rest of the story of the most autocratic steps taken by the British Government in India will be told in the words of *The Times* editorial notes and the telegrams that have appeared in its columns. The first telegraphic message appeared in *The Times* of February 19th and is prefaced by a few passages from the speech of the Viceroy, in which he gives the reason for introducing such extraordinary Bills which provoked the "hostility" of of all Indian members—who are by no means known for their independence of character:

The Times, February 19th, says:—

"PREVENTION OF CRIME.

INDIAN HOSTILITY TO ROWLATT BILLS.

"Delhi, Feb. 7 (delayed).

"The Proceedings of the Legislative Council yesterday showed the implacable hostility of the Indian speakers to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee.

"In his opening speech the Viceroy emphasized the necessity of adequate substitutes for the powers which had enabled the Government to preserve public peace and order during the war, declaring that a sudden release of the forces of anarchy from restraint and control would involve a position which the Government could not contemplate. The reaction against all authority which had manifested itself in many parts of the civilized world was not likely to leave India untouched, and the Government could not shut its eyes to the undoubted existence in this country of definitely revolutionary organizations".....

"Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, who said his opinion was shared by the leaders of the Moderate Party, affirmed that the passing of the Bills would mean the burial of the sacred right of personal liberty".....

"At to-day's sitting the hostility of the Indian non-official members was even more pronounced. The fact that the Executive was armed with even greater powers under special legislation already in force was ignored by speaker after speaker."

The Times, February 21st, says:—

"INDIAN SEDITION BILLS. *Government Concession.*

"Delhi, Feb. 10 (delayed).

"At the Imperial Council Meeting to-day, Sir William Vincent announced that the Government of India were willing that the Rowlatt Emergency Powers Bill, which was referred to a Select Committee on Friday, should be in operation only for a period of three years after the conclusion of the war".....

"All the Indian speakers opposed the new Bill, especially the provision that persons, found in the possession of seditious documents for an unlawful purpose should be liable to two years' imprisonment.....

(Continued on page 1249).

THE SOLDIER and THE WAR.

The following passages comprise one of six fragments to be published in the "Dreadnought" from a novel by Dudley Howard Tripp, a young soldier who enlisted early in the war and here records his impressions.

II.

".....Our cloaks blow round us like sails half torn from a mast. The hail whips in our faces and on our hands; the rain without and the sweat within bathe us in moisture. We have a week to stand in those same soaking clothes—and in mid winter!

"The perpetual tchah! tchah! tchah! of a thousand feet lulls me after half an hour's march into a semi-stupor. My whole mind is tired. Like the clatter of train wheels over the rail joints, this marching fits words, even refrains to its time. It deadens thought, drugs action. Indistinct, vague fancies begin to flit through the brain; a species of self-hypnosis is set in operation. The black masses of the houses and trees move into ghostly view, pass and fade. Straight, or winding, the road loses meaning, slips beneath one's feet like a great mechanical stairway moving to the rear. The legs of the men in front seem grotesque in their monotonous swing. The pack, of which one is, as a rule, supremely conscious, loses its intrinsic weight, and one's whole body grows heavy. Then mind and body blend: the movement of the one becomes as unreal as the movement of the other; weariness merges into mental exhaustion, stabbed by battle horrors, and is forgotten. Tchah! Tchah! Tchah!.... and so on, on, on....

* * *

"I suppose most men at the front at one time or another touch the black depths: reach such a state of mind that the smallest hitch swells to a dire, irreparable calamity. It is a state different from that produced by normal healthy fatigue. Rather is it a species of hypochondria, that gnaws incessantly at the sensitive nerves and changes the whole disposition and outlook of the suff rer.

"There are revulsions of natural feeling. Faces change. The cheeriest laughter becomes hideous cachination; the words of a friend become the mocking of a fiend....

"Certain planes of misery knit men closer together, breed a fine companionship and sympathy among the most diverse natures; but, below this plane is another on which one has no friends, or knows none, on which one's every action and thought is tainted with the blackest jealousy, hatred, and spitefulness. This is a phase, of which the home folk know little or nothing. It is the wild beast phase, the border line of civilization and bestiality, where they merge one into the other; it is the very dregs of war's bitter cup, and they who must drink, poor devils, deserve pity, not contempt.

* * *

"He who has the soul of the artist, a sensitive heart, fights a more terrible battle with his own soul and with the carnage of war, than he who has the instincts of the butcher. Remember this always, in talking either of the coward or the hero. Courage, in war, is often but the victory over all that is best in one's nature, over all the clean, refining ideals of peace. Fear is quite often a hatred of cruelty.

"I have very nearly touched the deepest floors of despair. I have known what it is to hate, and shiver at the nearness of my best friend; to curse God and man and all, even the beautiful things of life. I would not write of such a state of things if I had not. I am not creating a fictitious pessimism for the mere pleasure of disconcerting the easy souls who believe in the eternal humour of the man in the line. I tell you I have heard a thousand curses for a single joke, only the joke is repeated at home and the curses are not. I have seen a thousand snarls for a single smile: do you think I would trouble to tell you lies! Do you think the man in the line reads your honour-death-and-glory novels and newspaper paragraphs with anything but a contemptuous laugh?

"Well, there is no reason perhaps why you should be miserable as well as he, but there is every reason that you should know of his despair, yes, and work with him, so that this tragedy occurs not again. You should know that the smile on his face is part of his splendid courage, part of his soul's rebellion against outrageous war; part of the recognition that, with its stark festering degradation, it must be kept away, as far as possible, from the clean things of life, part of decency's condemnation of it lock, stock, and barrel, part of the simple humanity for which the world should strive, and which war may, in the long end, help it to attain."

DUDLEY HOWARD-TRIPP.

THE STRIKE OF LONDON COOKS AND WAITERS.

Among the various strikes which occurred in London during the early part of last month, a minor, yet very significant and interesting strike, passed almost unnoticed.

The Hotel, Restaurants, and Clubs Employees, generally the most sweated, overworked, and ill-treated class of workers in this country, early in December last, formed their organisation as a branch of London Workers' Union. The membership, of a wide International character, consisting almost of every European nationality, and of many Chinese, Japanese, West Indians, and others, in a very short time, rose to nearly eight thousand men and women.

Shortly before Christmas, the Union asked the employers double wages for Christmas eve, Christmas, and New Year's days. The Employers' Association granted this, but refused an 8 hours day, the abolition of the Trunk (pooling of tips) system, 25 per cent. all round advance in the kitchen, and a minimum of 35s. a week wages for unskilled or auxiliary workers.

Towards the end of January, one of the largest firms announced its decision to re-introduce the after-theatre suppers, amounting to a considerably longer time than the already existing working hours, without any compensation. This aroused the strong opposition of the workers, and on the 30th of January, the Trade Union Committee pressed upon the Employer's Association the demands for an 8 hour day, and abolition of Trunks, fixing Monday, Feb. 3rd, at noon, as the time limit. In the afternoon of that day, at 3.30. a meeting was held in the Central Hall, Westminster. It was unanimously decided to strike the following day, though the Union Secretary had no funds to pay strike benefit.

On Tuesday morning, Feb. 4th, the strike began, and in almost every Hotel and Restaurant in the West End of London, work came to a standstill. About sixty establishments were involved, ranging from the Royal and Select Ritz Hotel, down to the busy middle class restaurants of Soho.

Most readers of THE DREADNOUGHT know nothing of the luxurious palaces in and around Piccadilly, where the wealth produced by millions of miserable wage slaves all over the world is recklessly spent by the privileged few; where art is the humble slave of Mammon, and a big bank balance is the sum total of every achievement, and gives access to every worldly good. Here honey-tongued officials receive, gold-gilded dignitaries attend, and smiling-faced, well-groomed servants wait upon the select ones, amid exquisite perfume and gorgeous colours, and to the sweet tune of a select orchestra. Here, men speak in terms of thousands and millions, and the most charming women display their beauties as well as their jewels. Here, in winter, in spite of the raging storm, worthy gentlemen and ethereal ladies take their meals and drink their iced champagne in delightful warmth, and in summer, in the cool atmosphere created by miniature icebergs, skilfully camouflaged with green leaves and flowers.

When the strike started, the whole aspect changed, as though by magic. Instead of the noisy slaves running about feverishly in the inner part of the building where the work is done, a grim silence prevailed. The kitchen fires were out, the cellars locked; no cooks were heard shouting vociferously. The slaves were gone! One o'clock, no one to serve, and nothing to serve except some cold dishes. Just a few head waiters, loyal slaves, are mournfully moving about the dining rooms, and a big fat man, the Manager, is running anxiously here and there. Poor man! Upstairs, the guests are waiting in vain to be attended, the slaves are gone!

Six p.m., the famous Grand Hall is empty and mournful. Now and again a page boy breaks its silence, passing through it and grimacing scornfully, or smiling in glee. *He* is not at all down-hearted, because his food is so bad. Many a snobby aristocrat, among whom were a few Russian Tsarists, found themselves compelled, practically for the first time in their lives, to help themselves, and even make their own beds.

On Thursday evening, towards 7 o'clock, Mr. Bonvin, the manager of the Ritz, came to the front door, asking for "only one cook to cater for the resident staff," but the picket, a stalwart English proletarian, sent him to *Prinkipo*, or rather the Union offices.

On Thursday, February 6th, at a Mass Meeting in the Central Hall, an account of the strike was given to an audience of over 5,000 men and women, amidst great enthusiasm, and there were high hopes of speedy and triumphant success.

Three more days and the strike had been won, but, on Friday, a few boys came asking strike pay. Hearing that they had been paid on Saturday many others followed and, contrary to the Union's decision, some of them were paid out of the scanty branch funds. Then, not having cash to go round, and in view of the attitude of a number of men threatening to go back to work, the Committee decided to send all back on Monday next, hoping in the meantime to come to an agreement with the Employers' Association to prevent victimisation. This decision, next morning (Sunday), appeared in the Press as a statement by Mr. Gibson, the organiser. The employers, seeing that they had won such an easy and unexpected victory, turned their backs upon the Union and refused any negotiation in regard to victimisation, although one particular employer, Mr. Judas of the Café Royal, was found willing to arrange the matter. On Monday the employers sacked most of the active men and women in the movement, and some firms even considerably reduced the wages. For a moment the organization seemed to be falling to pieces, but, after the panic had passed, it reasserted itself and now continues its activities.

The fact that the strike has been lost, when success was almost at hand, is due to the lack of experience and courage on the part of the Committee rather than the shortcomings of the rank and file, who, on the whole, held together magnificently. In the light of the recent experience, it is evident that the caterers should organise themselves on shop committee lines, as explained in J. T. Murphy's pamphlet, "Shop Committees"; thus the rank and file itself will retain control of the organization, and not be left at the mercy of its officials, who were able in this case, to call the strike off instead of appealing for general solidarity to continue the strike a little longer, when its success would have been assured. The cooks, the skilled men, and all in the trade must be strongly combined. There is no reason to lose heart on account of this defeat, for the failure of to-day may easily be turned into a brilliant success to-morrow. C.T.C.

THREE IRISH REBELS.

Mrs. Clarke has been released from Holloway as the result of the Doctor's representations. She has been in prison since May and has completely broken down in health. No one who knew Mrs. Clarke's history will be surprised to hear of her illness. The only wonder is that such a fragile looking woman should have such power of endurance. Her father, husband and uncle all served long terms of imprisonment in English jails. After the rising of 1916, her house was searched and she herself arrested and subjected to much hardship. She was taken one day to Kilmainham to see and say good-bye to her husband before his execution. The next day she had to go again for a last interview with her brother, a young man of 24, before he was also shot. She was ill at the time of these happenings and when it was all over had a very severe breakdown from which she was only just recovering when arrested last May. The cold and confinement had the usual effect on her, and she has only been released in time to save her life.

It seems there are only two sentences known to English "justice," a sentence to death or a sentence to illness. To the truth of this most C.O.s. would bear witness. One does not want to blame the prison officials, as this is not their fault, they are often as kind as they are allowed to be. It is the terrible prison system that is responsible for the gradual breakdown in health of most prisoners.

At present there is only one Irish woman left in Holloway, the one woman M.P. in these islands. Unlike any other Irish prisoner, as the men are together, Constance de Markievicz is in what is practically solitary confinement, as she does not come in contact with ordinary prisoners, being untried and unconvicted, and has no visits from outside. Great suffering is caused by the intense cold. The temperature in recent weeks has not been higher than 51, and sometimes as low as 48. Meanwhile from Ireland come accounts of all the petty persecutions and constant arrests common in a country under foreign military rule. St. Enda's School, re-opened by Mrs. Pearse after the execution of her sons, has been seized and occupied by soldiers. Willie Pearse was a sculptor and his work was naturally treasured by his mother. When Mrs. Pearse a short time ago had occasion to visit the house, she found some of her son's statuary broken on the floor while the soldiers played football in the hall. Mrs. Pearse is a woman of about 70, and it is easy to imagine the shock that would be caused to her by what was to the "army of occupation," no doubt, merely a harmless method of killing an hour of their useless and tedious day, deprived of all sensible or constructive work. This matter may be a trifle, but it serves as an example of the constant petty irritation which adds its venom to the poison of the coercive military occupation which exists in Ireland to-day.

EVA GORE-BOOTH.

WE HAVE NO RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY.

By a British Soldier in Archangel

A soldier writing to his wife and children from Archangel says:—

"One of our chaps is coming to England sick, so I am giving him this letter to post in England for me. Now I am going to tell you how we are living in Russia. In the first place we get up in the morning at 6.30 A.M., have our breakfast at 7.30, fall in at 8.15 for work, and it is work! We are out in the snow and frost; we get wet through and cannot keep ourselves warm, our feet get wet through and are always cold. At 12 o'clock we have half an hour's break for lunch, which is half a tin of maconochie. We have to stand in the cold to eat it and keep ourselves warm the best way we can. When we start work again and we are still wet and cold (sometimes our trousers are frozen on us) we work hard to try to get warm till 4 o'clock. At 4 we go back to our billets, and this is what we find when we get there: no fire to dry our clothes, biscuits for our tea, sometimes jam and sometimes lard. Of course we have dinner which is machonochie stew (bully beef), so you see the biggest part of our food is tinned stuff, and not good to eat too much of. We get twenty-five cigarettes to last us a week and 1 oz. of tobacco. Sometimes we can buy a packet of cigarettes, but not very often. We get a rum issue twice a week. Instead, we ought to have it every night in a place like this; we have a dry canteen but there is never anything in it besides oxo and cordial.

"Now I will tell you what the country and the people are like. The country is not fit to live in; the people here say it is worse than Siberia. We are never warm; we are up to our knees in snow and it is always freezing. I think it is a damn shame that troops who have been in France should have to come out here to suffer this when the war is over and we ought to be at home having a good time with our wives and children. If the people in England only knew what the chaps are having to go through out here, there would be some trouble. The people in England are told we are having a good time, but it is all damn lies.

"The Russian people hate us and we have to be very careful how we go about. We have no right in this country and they know it. One of our platoon officers was murdered on Christmas morning and another on Christmas night.

"Just shew this letter to the others as I cannot send them all one: we cannot get any envelopes and besides we can't put any news in them. We are almost forced to say we are going on alright. How I hope they will not keep us here much longer, you must try and get me off if you can. Write to the War Office and tell them you want me back at home to work for you and the children. If they will not do anything get somebody to write to *John Bull* and explain to him how long I have been out in France and then was sent out here after the war was over. If *John Bull* only knew about this he would play hell up...."

THE BERNE CONFERENCE.

From the new French Socialist Revolutionary paper, (*La Vague.*)

During four and a half years of war, the governments of the belligerent states, the leaders of the Socialist parties, and Trade Union organizations, each by different methods, have consistently opposed all attempts at an International Conference.

To-day the storm has passed, the soldiers have "ordered arms," the machine-guns have ceased to mow down men, and still more men. And our Internationalists who were silent while the guns were speaking, are speaking now that the guns are silent.

Read the names of the majority of the delegates who have come to Berne from the four corners of the earth, and for each country you will discover, without any trouble, the heroic host of stay-at-home patriots, of rabid never-endians, of the working classes of the world.

Workers, be on your guard!

You will have to-morrow only a caricature of the International, just as you have had since the beginning of the war. I was even on the point of saying, just as you have always had but caricatures of Socialists!

The Nationalist Socialists and Trade-Unionists, who but yesterday were insultingly throwing the names of Lenin and Trotsky in our teeth; who vilified the Russian Revolution; who strove to gloss over their actions by putting them under the label "the country's highest interests"—these men have no mandate to reconstitute the International.

And yet these were the men who at the very beginning of the Conference hurled accusations at the heads of the German majority!

Responsibilities and complicities! Who, then, amongst the Nationalists and patriots assembled together at Berne has not had his full share in them? Ex-Ambassador Albert Thomas, who embraced priests and incited to war—is he to be the judge, the "J'accuse" of the International?

A low comedy indeed! Renaudel, Poisson, Dubreuilh, and Thomas cannot be judges. They themselves are in the dock!

What are men like Morgari, Lazzari, Adler, Loriot, and Ramsay Macdonald doing in this sorry business?

At an hour when everywhere the Revolution is growling, sweeping autocracies into the refuse heap, overturning thrones, and threatening even the dictating "democracies," the Conference must perforce be discussing the Society of Nations. The Society of Nations which will emerge from the Peace Conference at Paris, the work of men like Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and even Wilson—with all due respect to his worshippers—will serve as a most powerful weapon against Revolutions and the International.

It will prove to be a formidable "consortium" of Capitalist states, a cartel of bourgeois governments, an association to exploit the peoples kept in a state of serfdom.

This Society of Nations, which of old used to seem to me a necessary step in universal evolution, appears to-day only a useless and even shameful stop in the rapid march towards the setting up of the world-wide Socialist Republic. It is not a step forward, it is a hindrance.

It will not be a union of associated peoples, but a coalition of the capitalist and governing classes of every land. By broadening their field of action, governments will be only the better armed against revolutionists; and militarisms, bound together by a new pact, will serve as an international police charged with protecting the bourgeois social order.

In face of the gigantic movement of the peoples in the throes of revolution, how paltry and ridiculous appear the beggings and prayings of "patriotic" groups to be admitted to a place round the green table at the Peace Conference.

Is it possible to link the proletariat—by the participation of its delegates—with labours of the diplomats who, under cover of the Wilsonian formula, "the right of peoples to dispose of themselves," will legalise the spoliation of the peoples?

No, the International cannot be reborn from the hands of those who have killed it. Gompers, Jouhaux, Roussanoff, Albert Thomas, cannot be the associates of Lenin, Trotsky, Fritz Adler, Hayward, Morgari, Borghi, Lazzari, of the Bolsheviks and Spartacists.

The names cannot be re-united, these men cannot come to an *entente*, or understand one another; working together, they could achieve no useful work. This coupling of names is anti-Socialistic. Away with you, the Vanderveldes and the Thomases! By leaguing yourselves with war governments, by placing yourselves on ministerial benches, you have been put under a ban by Socialism and the International.

National antagonisms, industrial jealousies, colonial rivalries which bind and chain people to people and race to race in hatred—all such hideous barbarities can only disappear before the persevering efforts of men who, in every land, highly, boldly, and in face of nationalists, whether these latter are Royalists or Socialists, proclaim themselves citizens of the world. The only true Internationalists are those who are brothers to men of all lands and races, those who have but one country, Humanity?

They alone are qualified to set up the true International.

Raymond Péricat.

"L'Internationale" du 15 Fevrier, 1919. No. 1.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

GRAND DANCE AND RE-UNION

At SHOREDITCH TOWN HALL,

ON

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, at 7 o'clock

(Plain or Fancy Dress)

WILLESDEN B.S.P. QUADRILLE BAND

Post Office. Lucky Dip.

Refreshments at Popular Prices.

Tickets **1s.** each; to be obtained of all branches of the B.S.P., and Central Office, B.S.P., 21A Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.2., and at the door.

AN ORDER IS MADE AGAINST ME.

Impressions of the Law Courts.

On Friday, February 21st, I was summoned to appear before Justice Astbury in Chancery Court No 2, in connection with the action of the A.S.E. General Office Trustees against the Trustees of Kingston-on-Thames and Acton Branches. I found Justice Astbury's Court and there were six or eight funny men with funny grey wigs with pigtails in attendance. Promptly at 10 30, Justice Astbury, wearing a funny grey wig, makes his appearance, whereupon the usher says shush, shush, and the Court constable bawls, silence. Everyone is expected to stand whilst Justice Astbury gracefully bows his acknowledgements.

A grey wig rises and mumbles something to the judge and another grey wig argues the point. Clerks are passing to and fro with huge bundles of blue papers tied up with red tape and periodically the usher says sh, sh, and the constable bawls, SILENCE. But still the talking goes on. Another grey wig rises and I hear our case mentioned. The Judge says he knows all about it, but forgets the names of the trustees he made an order against, although he remembers something about a man named Watson. The grey wig carries on with the Acton case, saying an order was made against all the defendants except Watson, and asks if Watson is present. I was in the public gallery and in quite an audible voice let them know I was about. I was immediately invited to stand in front of the Judge and I really thought he was going to shake hands with me, instead of which he asked me if I had anything to say. I expressed great surprise at having received a summons when I had not paid out any money to strikers, incidentally saying that it appeared as if the General Trustees and the Executive were assisting the Government and employers to crush any manifestation of activity amongst the rank and file. Justice Astbury said he could not hear my political views, but as he had allowed me to finish, that did not matter much. I said that if my branch agreed that any member was entitled to benefit, as far as I was concerned that benefit would be paid. I was asked if I would pay out any benefit against the rules to which I replied, "No," and reiterated my previous statement. I asked what my position was and was told to ask my solicitor. I replied that I had no solicitor, and did not want one. "Then," said the Judge, "You'll not be heard" "But what is my position?" I again asked. "You'll not be heard," repeated the Judge. And that is all I know about it. An order has been made against me restraining me from doing something I have not done and I shall not be heard.

I turned away from the Judge saying, "I shall never understand this legal business, and I don't particularly want to." As I left the court I shouted to Comrade Knight, who had accompanied me: "Come along, Tom, this is not a fit place for decent men."

This is what is called a Court of Justice. Is it not tragic to think that a Trade Union, ostensibly existing to fight the master class, should stoop so low as to invoke the aid of these funny grey wigged men to fight workers who are making sacrifices that they themselves are afraid of making, in the interests of the class to which we belong?

W. F. WATSON.

Extract from "Naval and Military Record" of 2nd Feb., 1919.

A member of our staff who has traversed the waters of the Eastern Hemisphere during the war and is now in the White Sea, sends an interesting account of his experiences in North Russia. The first thing the naval men (British) did on reaching the Murman Coast was to take over the Russian cruiser *Askold*, the Admiral and captain of which had been murdered by the crew, who afterwards proceeded to join the Bolsheviks.

The ship now sails under a new and British name. Proceeding up the River Dwina, our men took Archangel after a short scrap.

When we had restored order there and been reinforced by British, French, Italian, Serbian and American troops we seized all the small river craft, manned them, put in a gun or two, and proceeded further up the river bombarding hostile villages on the way. Troops followed up as far as the River Volga, when we had to fall back as the enemy was there in very strong force, and we had some casualities.

At several of the villages we had to land for food, and while in the streets we were fired at from houses, losing several more men. At this time (July) we were joined by the French battleship *Admiral Aube* and the American cruiser *Olympia*, also by two of our latest monitors.

The following extract is from an official intelligence report:—

"Considered as a machine for executing its own purposes, he thought the Bolshevik administration was more efficient and energetic than any Russian Government that he had known."

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE WORKERS AGAIN BETRAYED.

The necessity for revolution is clearly proved by the Government scheme for the "nationalisation" of the railways and other means of transport. The industrial Conference and what is happening in regard to the demands of the miners show the difficulty of obtaining a revolution in this country.

The Transport Bill: Sham Nationalisation. A Double Financial Burden.

The Bill to set up a Ministry of Ways and Communications whilst it may be applied to all inland means of transport does not establish a complete national scheme. It authorises the Ministry to purchase and take control of, or to establish any railways, light railways, tramways, inland waterways, roads, bridges, ferries and vehicles, or traffic thereon, harbours, docks, piers, the supply of electricity, and any undertaking connected with those things.

Dividends Secure.

If the Minister take control of an undertaking the dividends of the owners are to be guaranteed and paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, which of course means moneys taken from the people by taxation. If the control by the Ministry cause the property to deteriorate, then the owner is to be recompensed out of moneys provided by Parliament.

If the Ministry should decide, not merely to control, but finally to take over any undertaking, the Ministry will buy the undertaking, and of course the price will be a heavy one. If the price is determined by arbitration the members of the Court will of course be members of the property owning class. The purchase money will be raised "wholly or in part" by moneys borrowed from private capitalists, to whom the Government will pay interest. It is provided that after buying or establishing an undertaking, the Government may lease it to be worked as a private concern. Clause 5 Section I. gives the Government power to provide the capitalists with public money with which to develop their own private undertakings; this opens up opportunities for grave corruption.

Clause 5 lays down that the Minister, subject to the approval of the Treasury, may make advances out of the moneys provided by Parliament to any authority, company, or person, either by way of grant, or by way of loan, or partly in one way and partly in another, and upon such terms and conditions as he thinks fit, for any of the following purposes:—

(a) The construction, improvement, or maintenance of railways, light railways, or tramways.
(b) The construction, improvement, or maintenance of roads, bridges, and ferries:
(c) The construction, improvement, or maintenance of harbours, docks, or piers:
(d) The construction, improvement, or maintenance of canal or inland navigations:
(e) The promotion and improvement of transport services by land or water.

A rich harvest for the profiteers; a heavy burden upon the workers, is evidently in contemplation. If the railways and other means of transport are controlled by the Government, the dividends of the owners will be assured, without the ordinary risks and fluctuations which arise in the course of business. If the railways are purchased, the shareholders will either be bought out, or the interest on their shares continues. The interest on the money borrowed to buy the railways will amount to a heavy charge on the people. So, in any case, the nation is to be saddled with the upkeep of the idlers who live on money invested in railway shares, and, in addition, it is to bear the cost of maintaining an expensive government department. The Minister of Ways and Communications is to have a salary of £5,000 a year; his assistant secretaries are to have £1,500 a year each, and there will be the usual army of clerks and minor officials, as well as costly offices, and much printing and stationery.

This sort of "nationalization" or government control, will not, as nationalization should, remove the capitalist incubus, and thus enable the workers in the industry to live at a higher level of comfort, and, at the same time, allow of a reduction in the price of coal. No, this sort of nationalization may even increase the parasitic charges upon industry. But does anyone imagine that it is possible to nationalize the mines without continuing to pay the dividends of the mine owners except by revolution? Does anyone believe it can be done except in the course of a general revolution, which would dispossess, not merely the mine owners, but all the other capitalists?

The Transport Bill will give the workers no freedom. On the contrary, they will find all the power of the Government against them, should a dispute arise. A sinister phrase occurs in Clause 2:—

"There shall be transferred to the Minister any officer or servant of an undertaking of which possession is retained or taken under this Act, whose services the Minister may require, either permanently with the consent of the officer or servant, or temporarily with the consent of the undertakers.

This would seem to indicate that if the services of the workers are only temporarily required by the Ministry, the consent of the workers is unnecessary. Why is this phrase slipped in? We believe the reason to be that the Government intends to use the power of taking over the railways to crush industrial revolts, as was done in the French railway strike, a few weeks ago. The British Government probably desires to make quite certain that such action shall not be challenged in the Courts, and to make it illegal for the workers to terminate their engagements to work on the railways in the event of such a crisis.

We believe that the fear of revolution has been the motive force behind this Bill.

The Government found it expedient to control the railways when it was fighting a capitalist war in Europe, and the Government realises that it will be still more expedient to control the railways when it is fighting a civil war with Labour at home.

The Transport Bill is not an instalment of State Socialism, as some people declare; at the best, it is a piece of State Capitalism, and it may turn out to be merely a blind to hide the fact that the Government is taking greater powers to coerce the workers.

A Socialist administration in taking over the railways would assume no responsibility for dividends; it would offer work at an equal wage for all connected with the railways, whether engine-drivers or managers; it would pay a pension equal to that wage to those unable to work; it would place the control of the railways under the workers on the railways. That sort of nationalisation is called "Bolshevism," and is bitterly attacked by those who have vested interests in the railways. But when the Revolution comes that is precisely the sort of Nationalisation we shall get. Speed the Revolution!

The Joint Industrial Conference.

In the proceedings of the Joint Industrial Conference we see the crowning folly and vanity of those one-time Labour Leaders—both men and women—who have forgotten any class solidarity they may ever have possessed, and are eagerly making themselves agreeable to the employing class. Sir Robert Horne, the Minister of Labour, who presided over the Conference, spoke with amazing cynicism regarding the unemployed. He said that unemployment amongst men in the insured trades was only 6·5 per cent, and though there was a much larger percentage of unemployment amongst women, he considered that entirely natural, and he asserted that large numbers of the women who were swelling the ranks of the unemployed and presumably claiming the unemployed donation, did not intend to go back to work again now that the war is over. We can tell another tale of innumerable unemployed women, who on one flimsy pretext or another, are denied the unemployed benefit to which they were entitled. Sir Robert Horne said the amount of the unemployed donation explained the large number of unemployed women, as it was higher than the wage they could get in the trades they worked at before the war. But the number of unemployed would now be reduced because the Government was about to reduce the unemployment donation from 25*s.* to 15*s.* a week for women, and from 29*s.* a week to 20*s.* for men. Thus, oh! cynical executive of slave drivers do you fulfil your promises of social reconstruction, using the goad of privation to force the workers back to sweated employments!

Most churlish was the Minister's statement that in reducing the unemployment donation after a given period, the Government had "decided to follow trade union practice." The trade unions are forced by shortage of funds, to that unfortunate, and in its effects upon men, women, and children, that cruelly harsh procedure. The Government, which is thus condemning the unemployed to want is spending over sixty millions a year on furnishing profits to the railway directors, and is introducing a bill which guarantees those profits for as long as the railways shall be controlled.

As for the plea that the "National" factories which were established because the private undertakings were inadequate to the huge enterprise of winning the war, should be used to find work for the unemployed, Sir Robert Horne replied that the Government had decided to close these factories because it thought that "if the Government were regarded as a competitor in the industries which private enterprise was at present running, private work would never be started again at all."

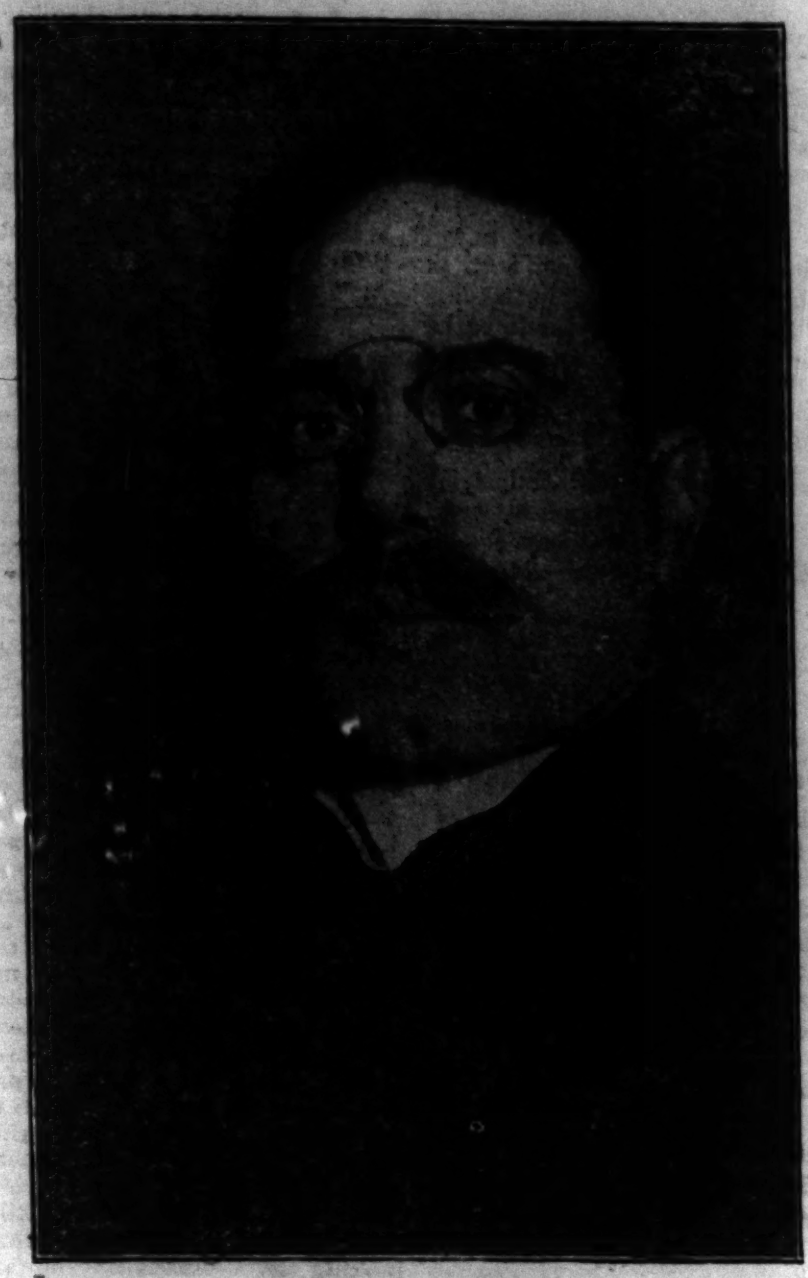
There would have been the opportunity to nationalize industry, without the capitalists having a shadow of title to demand compensation, since they had retired from business in fear of state competition. But Governments formed in capitalist interests do not seize such opportunities to benefit the majority of the people. On the contrary, they hasten to aid the capitalists to the detriment of the masses.

No definite promise concerning the reduction of working hours was forthcoming; indeed, the Labour Minister made it clear that the Government did not intend to take national action concerning it—Wages Boards for the most ultra-sweated trades and the establishment of Whitley Councils were the only concessions held out to the workers as even remotely possible. Yet J. R. Clynes (Oh renegade!) declared that the only defect in Sir Robert Horne's speech was his announcement on the subject of unemployment benefit. Clynes said that his "only concern was whether labour in its own interest is going to ask for too much at one time."

But Clynes has again and again openly allied himself with the capitalist parties; Henderson, on the other hand, has pretended to a sturdy independence since he was dropped by the Lloyd George Government. How did Henderson receive the denial of the rewards which he persistently assured the workers they would win by supporting the Government in the war? As though the commercial soundness of the capitalist machine were all that should concern a representative of the workers who are exploited by that machine; callously ignoring the trusteeship for the workers' interests, which, with many pledges, he declared that he had assumed when he entered the Coalition Government, he smugly said that unless something were done to put industrial unrest permanently out of the way, he could see "no hope of this country meeting its financial liabilties." He then moved this fatuously worded and most unwise resolution:—

"That this conference, being of the opinion that any preventable dislocation of industry is always to be deplored, and in the present critical period of reconstruction might be disastrous to the interests of the nation, and thinking that every effort should be made to remove legitimate grievances and promote humanity and good will, resolves to appoint a Joint Committee consisting of equal numbers of employers and workers, men and women, together with a chairman to be appointed by the Government, to consider questions relating to (1) hours, wages, general conditions of employment; (2) unemployment and its prevention; (3) the best method of promoting co-operation between Capital and

Continued on page 1251.



KARL LIEBKNECHT.

The "Red Flag" publishes a photograph of the band of men who murdered Liebnecht and Luxembourg, who, on the following day assembled for a drinking bout in the Hotel Eden and got themselves photographed. The "Red Flag" says:—

"Who paid for their entertainment has not been discovered, but we shall find out. Was there ever in all the world a murder more brutally celebrated and more cynically made known than this. Has it ever happened that the murderers possessed the impudence to celebrate the 'victory' and get themselves photographed at the celebration."

Parliament as We See It.

February 24. Labour unions and farmers' leagues in Canada, Colonel Wedgwood (C.L.) stated, "are expressing vigorous opposition to the sending of Canadian troops to Russia to fight the Revolution." This is good news; the British ought to follow suit.

COAL COMMISSION.

As has already been made known, the method used by the Government to stay the hands of the miners, was the appointment of a Coal Inquiry Commission. A Bill was introduced by Mr. Lloyd George for this purpose and debated at length on February 24th and 25th. The Prime Minister in the course of long-winded oration on the effects of the coal dispute, let fall such words of wisdom as: "The price of coal would go up another 8s. or 10s. per ton by granting the miners' demands!" The Bill was passed, and now the miners are at the mercy of an inquiry.

ANYTHING BUT BOLSHEVISM.

February 25th. In reply to Colonel Wedgwood (C.L.) it transpired that the British still support M. Nabokoff, who is *now* regarded as the representative of the Omsk, Archangel, and Ekaterinodar "Governments." As Colonel Wedgwood rightly remarked: "Why cannot these 'Governments' pay him?"

THE C.O. SCANDAL.

As was to be expected, Mr. Shortt is not particularly sympathetic towards C.O.s. He regards the protests against their treatment as coming from a "small minority of the population."

THOSE WOMEN!

February 26th. Again Mr. G. Terrell (C.U.) is afraid that women are soaring too high. Why do they refuse laundry work? There is, he reports, "a great shortage of women labour in laundries." Mr. Pratt, for the Government, explained that the wages in laundries are "relatively low"; and then told the House that women for whom laundry work is considered suitable, are offered this work. If they refuse, their right to out-of-work donation is referred to a court of referees, for decision. When will these men realise, that women have minds of their own, and that they are not mere chattels!

THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG.

The interview which the Prime Minister granted the Miners' Federation at Downing Street cost £4,450 to circulate. Mr. Hogge (L) suggested that the same result would have been attained by inviting the newspaper reporters to be present, whilst it would have cost nothing!

Mr. Bonar Law averred that, as the proceedings took place in Mr. Lloyd George's private room, Mr. Hogge's suggestion would have been "inconvenient"! We must really protest against the servant of the people, spending fabulous sums thus, for his "convenience." Such waste is condoned by men who grudge a poor woman a miserable 25s. a week, and who knowingly, let old-age pensioners starve, on 7s. 6d. a week.

THE "LIMIT."

Mr. Bonar Law, though he could approve of the Prime Minister's, and, we presume, any other bureaucrat's, extravagance and waste, cannot consider the question of pensions for widows with children. Mr. Devlin (I. N.) remarked that Ireland would favour such legislation too if it were introduced. This gave Mr. Bonar Law the chance of proving to those who may still respect Parliament, that it has become a good deal worse than impotent, indeed actually vile. He said: "I am not surprised, as the money comes out of the British Treasury!!!"

"A MIND DISEASED."

Colonel Wedgwood (C. L.) drew attention to the case of the C. O.s recently court-martialled for the fourth time. Sir William Whitla (C. U.) made a suggestion worthy of the Coalition: "The immediate release of all C. O.s in order that their services may be utilised for the cleansing of the latrines in the different camps at home and abroad, a duty at present imposed upon fighting men." And nobody seems to have wanted to have this creature removed from the House.

"IRELAND A NATION."

The Censor gave permission for a film to be exhibited in Dublin entitled, 'Ireland a Nation,' but the military authorities in Ireland prohibited its further display. Are they, by any chance, the same men who have been fighting for the "freedom of small Nationalities?"

ANOTHER DEPARTMENT.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Shortt, moved that permission be given to bring in a bill to establish a Ministry of Ways and Communications. The powers this new department will possess, consist in the control of all means of transport; the air excepted.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH.

A Second Reading was given to the Ministry of Health Bill. It was introduced by Dr. Addison, who explained that this Bill would not create a new Ministry, since the powers of the Local Government Board and the English Insurance Commissioners are to be transferred to the Health Ministry. Although approval was the keynote of the speeches made; criticism was levelled against the Bill for neglecting to take medical research under its care. All the Health Ministries in existence, however, will avail nothing if the standard of living remain at its present low level.

THE HEROES.

February 27th. Lt.-Colonel Weigall (C.U.) suggested that a properly qualified speaker should be arranged for to address the troops about to be demobilised. The speaker should thank the troops for their services, and point out the "necessity of increased production," owing to the "national economic position." What about the V.C.s who cannot find work, and who are going to give the King a serenade outside Buckingham Palace as a protest against the "thanks" they are receiving?

WASTE.

During the Supplementary Estimates debate a supplementary sum of 1,000*l.* was voted to include the defraying of the extra travelling expenses of the Irish Chief Secretary. In view of this waste of public funds, we must endorse Mr. T. P. O'Connor's remark:—"The Chief Secretary seems to be about the most expensive and useless luxury.....either in England or Ireland."

M. O'C.

REVOLUTION IN INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

(Continued from front page)

The Times adds:—

"One of the two European non-official members, Mr. Malcolm Hogg, representing the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, voted for Mr. S. Bannerjee's amendment for postponing the consideration of the Bill. It remains to be seen how far the concession will conciliate opposition."

The Times continues:—

"It seems improbable that the extremists will abandon their violent campaign, and it is even suggested that it will receive encouragement from what doubtless will be described as the partial surrender of the Government. Some of the Press comments on the vote on the first Bill emphasize that if the reforms had been in operation the Government would have been in a hopeless minority on the measure affecting peace and good order."

The Times in a leader of February 21st says:—

"THE NEW SEDITION BILLS IN INDIA.

"The debates in the Indian Imperial Legislative Council upon the two new Sedition Bills appear to indicate that India is on the verge of another of the factitious and artificial agitations which have repeatedly disturbed the Dependency during the last decade. The present position is that, while both the Government of India and the Home Government have undertaken to submit spacious constitutional reforms, they are also determined not to leave India a helpless prey to revolutionary agitators who preach a cult of anarchy and murder".....

"The Rowlatt Committee very strongly urged that the temporary measures adopted to prevent anarchical conspiracies during the war could not be allowed to disappear at the conclusion of peace. The Committee did not consider that the revolutionary movement was so broken that the possibility of future conspiracies could be safely disregarded. They therefore recommended that some of the powers with which the Government of India had provided themselves during the war should be renewed by special legislation.

"The Government of India have very properly acted upon the Committee's suggestion, and have introduced two Bills. The first, which was intended to be permanent in character, provides punishment for persons having in their possession any seditious document for an unlawful purpose, and makes other amendments to the law relating to sedition. The second furnishes emergency powers which can be set in motion should occasion arise. These powers include the trial of persons charged with seditious offences by a special tribunal composed of three Judges of the High Court. We need not go into technical details. The important point is that the two Bills reduce the powers which the Indian authorities possessed during the war. If the Bills are not carried there will be a general gaol delivery of desperate and dangerous characters at the very time when an unprecedented number of soldiers are being disbanded."

That is to say though *Dora* may be expelled from India she will make her stay in India permanent. The new legislation proposed by these two new Bills will make it penal to keep in possession even such harmless books as Mill's *Liberty* or his *Self-Government*, or the Life of Mazzini or Cromwell. Freedom of speech and press is entirely destroyed. Indians will not be allowed to leave India or return to it *indiscriminately*. One of these Bills proposes vital and fundamental changes in the Law of Evidence and the Indian Penal Code, according to which disaffection is sedition and disaffection means want of affection for the Government! Thus whatever freedom of speech and writing or thought and personal liberty was left in India is now to be denied to her people!

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

THE latest stunt, known as "Labour's Great Peace Parliament," has met. The miners have decided to postpone their strike (cheers), and the unemployment benefit is to continue another thirteen weeks—but at reduced rates. Whilst the men are to draw nine shillings less, the women are to receive the grand total of fifteen shillings a week as an inducement to keep off the streets. This is the price capitalist morality puts on chastity, whilst in another pulpit it howls at the Bolshevik "free love" and "nationalisation of women."

Whilst the "popular" Princess Pat was being married with an eye to as wasteful a display as possible, Sir Robert Horne was insulting the other and "commoner" women of Great Britain with an unemployment donation of fifteen shillings a week. And Sir Robert added:

"The disparity between the amount of the unemployment donation payable to women and the amount they were able to earn in many employments before the war, and can now, has created a very natural reluctance to go back to employment so long as the donation lasts."

Now, the women are drawing twenty-five shillings for the first thirteen weeks, and as they will not go back to employment (according to Sir Robert) as they would then get less, they are to be driven back by reducing the donation to fifteen shillings. The Government is *not* going to have a minimum wage bill for women; they are to be given the choice of the employers' terms or a donation of fifteen shillings a week. This is a sum Princess Pat would throw in Sir Robert Horne's face if it was offered her.

And, again, if a woman drawing the donation refuses work offered her, on the ground that it would not be worth while leaving home for, she is to be given an ultimatum. She will either have to accept the offer or maintain the "sanctity of the home" on no pounds, no shillings, and no pence per week. The working classes must be reminded that they are expected to work as long as they are useful. They should not live on "charity"—that is the privilege of such people as Lady X., who somehow manages to exist on a paltry Government unemployment donation of £25,000.

It should not be imagined that I am in favour of larger donations for the unemployed. Whilst it is true that I am at present drawing such, owing to differences with my employer, the exact details of which the DREADNOUGHT printer refused to print.* I do not want the parasite class increased. There is not only work enough for the unemployed, whose numbers mount up weekly, but for the whole adult population of the British Isles.

The main cause of a man being out of work is that he has nothing to sell but his labour power. But that only to a certain extent. If he went and dug holes in his back garden he would not be in any sense "employed," although he may be working harder than he has ever done for Mr. Boss. It is not his productivity either, for he could sweep the streets, clean all the windows in sight, and yet not be a penny in pocket for all that. It is not the Right to Work he wants. It is the Right to Eat.

His labour power is no use to him if he cannot sell it. And he cannot force an employer to employ him. If employers were forced to employ men who presented themselves for a job, it would smash up the present system of profiteering, and the men in Parliament mostly belong to the capitalist and dividend "earning" class. They are not going to commit suicide.

The present system is a profiteering system, because it depends on profits for its very existence. No employer would start a business unless he knew he could make something good out of it. He does not make boots because people need boots, but because there is money in boots. If he thought there was more money in margarine or shoddy furniture, he would go in for that, even if the whole world was going barefoot. Take, for instance, the following from the *Daily Chronicle* (26.2.19):—

"British Coal Ousted. Swansea Chamber of Commerce was notified yesterday that America is prepared to supply all the coal Italy needs at rates which are considerably below British quotations."

This proves, if it proves anything, that British profiteers have been trying to get contracts to sell coal abroad in spite of the fact that here in London it is more than difficult to get the modest "half-a-hundred." If there is more profit to be obtained abroad, the British people can sit before their "ain firesides" and hug themselves warm with the thought that "British Coal Ousts American."

The newest of new stunts is an "Industrial League for the improvement of relations between employer and employed." The President is the Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, M.P., and the advertisement thereof states:—

"Industrial disturbance delays reconstruction, causes unemployment, increases cost of living. Industrial Harmony means work, and wages, and security for all."

If Mr. Roberts is responsible for that advertisement, then he is responsible for misleading the people. What is Industrial Harmony? And if the aim of the "Industrial League" is work, and wages, and security for all, why—when hundreds are being turned out of employment daily—did not the employers accept a forty-hour week and so absorb some of the unemployed? If it takes five men six hours to do a job, it naturally follows that ten men will do that job in less time. There would be only one objection to such a beautiful scheme. The extra five men would absorb all the employers' profits in wages, and that would be *ruin!*

The remedy I have hinted at before. It is simply stated. If the employers cannot run the nation's business at a profit, let the workers do so.

* Suggestions of victimisation and of the substitution of a woman at lower pay were made which are not, in my opinion, at present, substantiated.
J. EDWARD FRANCIS.

UNHAPPY FRANCE.

Tickling the Torpedo.

Pierre Brizon in *La Vague* writes:—

M. Clemenceau does not speak to France. He speaks to foreigners. He disdains to inform the Chamber. But to American journalists the Premier puts forward alarming propositions: "*I have said that the war is won. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that there is a lull in the storm.*"

What is this mystery?

"*There is a situation which offers to France certain disquieting sides.*"

What is this infernal machine?

Wherein? Always tormenting men's minds? Always preaching hatred? Always sharpening the sword? Always keeping the powder dry? Do they want the world to end in the horrors of foreign war, civil war, and endless massacres? M. Clemenceau is tickling the torpedo....The Germans have now been asking for peace for four months. And peace is not yet signed!

Saddened by a thousand privations, at grips with undreamt of prices, threatened by famine, the people, the poor people, ask for mercy—and millions of wretched men are still under arms! Will they not spare them one misery? The military men are still our masters. The old military institutions, which devour the nations and prepare human butcheries, are still standing. The munition factories are not shut. Armies are not abolished. War budgets are not suppressed.

Except bread, which has remained cheap because the State, fearing the revolution, pays the difference (a few milliards a year!....), the cost of living has risen; some commodities, two or three, or four, or even five, six, seven, or eight times higher than in 1914. The housewives, whose purses are emptied in the twinkling of an eye in the market, know this well. People died in the war. And in peace time life is impossible—except for the *nouveaux riches*.

And in this bourgeois State, the great masses of industrial workers are thrown on the street, in the snow; women workers in hundreds of thousands are unemployed....

And this is the moment chosen by the pirates of industry to reduce wages. Three francs a day is quite enough, they say, for women living outside Paris!

If they dared they would lower the price of all labour to the wage of 3½*d.* and 4½*d.* a day, still being paid to the women weavers of Loire, the land of misery, of industrial lords, and factory slaves.

Honour! Glory! Religion! Our Lady of the Factory! Patriotism and Liberty! Above all Equality!

In unhappy Loire, backward islands where ten or twelve thousand working-class families are *suffering from hunger*. I say *from hunger*. Here is their diet: Soup in the morning, soup at midday, soup in the evening. And hurriedly to bed to get warm, because it is all very well to be living in a country of coal and forests: they have no money and therefore no fire....

Everything is dear because everything is lacking. Everything is lacking because the war has taken the producers. Peasants and workers it has taken in millions. It kept them for four years. And keeps them still. They eat more than when they are working and they produce nothing. Want! Of course: abundance and cheapness would be miracles under these conditions! Everything is lacking because in France there are three and a half millions of Englishmen and Americans who carry off eggs, milk, vegetables, and butter at any price. Let the Government finally finish the war and demobilise the men and we shall see the cost of living going down like the mercury in the thermometer exposed to cold. Milk, butter, and cheese are lacking because the armies have devoured the cows. One cannot have everything! And it will take three, four, and five years to restore the livestock decimated by the war. To carry goods railways are needed and the war has demolished them. If the traveller only knew the dangers he runs! Ships are needed, but the ships are at the bottom of the sea....When there are too many apples, apples are not worth much. When there are too many bank notes, too many five franc "pieces"—of paper—one takes them for nothing. One spends them, spends them—if one has any to spend! Prices rise. The notes must be called in. To call in the notes the Bank of France must be indemnified. To indemnify the Bank of France money is needed. There must be taxes on fortunes. State monopolies, restitution by contractors. But we have had Ribot, who protected the rich, and we still have Klotz, who dreams of making the Germans pay our debts.

The old house of capitalism is cracking on all sides. The whirlwind is blowing. The war has unsettled everything; that will teach the masters, the retainers of power and wealth, to unchain the infernal forces of massacre. The capitalist system is out of gear; the old world has lost its equilibrium. A new world is being formed in suffering—it has in it the hope of equality. This war has been a revolution. Our Governments have lost their influence. How mean and miserable appear their selfish old formulas of individualism and private property before the great tragic happenings of the time! Unhappy men! They think they hold the monopoly of wisdom; their poverty of heart and of mind laughs at the collectivists and they know not whither they are bound. They will not be forgiven, and they know not what they are doing. They are tickling the topedo. Attention, fools, an outburst is approaching!

The MARCH Number of THE

PLEBS

(*A Journal of Independent Working Class Education*) will contain:—

FRANK MEHRING - - - By W. A. M. M.
SCOTLAND IN REVOLUTION By Walton Newbold.
ERNEST JONES, CHARTIST By W. H. Mainwaring.
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In reference to the article on Cologne in *The Herald* of March 1st, Miss Muriel Lester writes:—

"There is one thing that Lansbury told me that is not in *The Herald*, which I wish we could tell to every Bishop and Minister. The Burgomaster of Cologne, eager to save his people from further mortality, arranged with the German Americans (with the consent of their Government), that a large consignment of food should be sent in for which he was willing to pay, but the French would not allow it to come through France, because the gold with which it was to be paid for, must be kept in Germany that their share of the indemnity might be secured. I think that fact ought to be spread abroad. I am telling you in the hope that you can do a bit of spreading."

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

THE WORKERS AGAIN BETRAYED.

Continued from page 1248.

Labour. In view of the urgency of the question the Joint Committee to be empowered to arrange with the Government for the re-assembling of this conference not later than April 5th, for the purpose of considering the report of the Joint Committee."

Have you forgotten, Mr. Henderson, the great story we heard from you at the Blackpool conference concerning the powerful International Labour Party that was to carry all before it, and to create a new world? Was that speech merely bluff? Did you not mean it? Here you are advocating co-operation between capital and labour, though it is only by strife between those irreconcilable forces that capitalism can be overthrown. Here you are saying that "preventable dislocation of industry might prove disastrous to the nation," as though the nation could have any existence at all apart from its workers.

Lloyd George approved Henderson's resolution, and urged the Conference to accept it. Both employers and labour representatives accepted the proposal, and thirty representatives of each side were immediately afterwards appointed. The Government is to appoint the Chairman. There is no such thing as an unbiassed judgment on such questions. Therefore, as the Chairman will, we are sure, be drawn from the employing class, the workers are at once placed in a minority.

Participation in such joint committees is disastrous to the interests of the workers; it merely postpones the day of their emancipation.

The Miners' Demands and the Statutory Commission.

The Unemployed Deserted.

The miners' conference has weakly surrendered to the proposals of the Government. It has agreed to postpone the strike notices from March 15th to March 22nd, in order that the finding of the Statutory Commission may be known before action is taken. It has decided to accept seats on the Commission. Because the Government refused to deal with the demand for full pay for the unemployed, the Conference has decided to abandon this claim, and, instead of making it one of the strike issues, it has asked the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party to take the matter up. As everyone knows, that means leaving the unemployed to the tender mercies of the Government, unless some other section of Industrial Workers will champion their case, or unless the unemployed themselves will take revolutionary steps to forward it. The Labour Party and Trade Union Congress are impotent for action, and have clearly shown that they will not even recommend a strong independent policy to their constituent bodies which have the power to enforce it. This is the moment chosen by the Government to reduce the unemployment benefit, and no protest has come, either from the miners, or from the bodies to which it has handed over the unemployed claim.

Having accepted seats on the Statutory Commission, the miner's representatives will find it exceedingly difficult to remain uncompromised. Every effort will be used to make them responsible for its findings, and their position will be most difficult.

The miners agreed to join the Commission, if half the seats were allotted to them, but they have had to content themselves with three nominees out of twelve. The employers have also three representatives. The Government has nominated six, three of whom are said to be representing other industries on the employers' side, and three are to watch the workers' interests in other industries. The consequence of all this is that the Socialist element which provides the driving force in the mining areas can hardly be satisfied, with the miners' representation. It was natural that the miners should choose their President, Vice-President, and Secretary, to represent them, though even Robert Smillie does not fully represent the younger revolutionary element, but it is really an injustice that the elderly hide-bound reactionary, Sydney Webb, should have been chosen as a representative of the miners, whilst Sir Leo. Chiozza Money is, after all, a Liberal, and Mr. Tawney comes from the Workers' Educational Association, whilst the miners are active partisans of the Central Labour College. The men whom the Government has chosen to represent the employers' interests are typical employers and men of affairs, and one at least is said to be an expert in regard to coal. The men whom the Government has chosen to support the three miners representatives are middle-class theorists, who have no first-hand experience of the miner's life. The Chairman of the Commission is a judge, and judges are notoriously reactionary in their views. The miners are fairly certain to find themselves either out-voted, or worse still, and much more probable, manœuvered into a false position.

And outside the Commission are the rank and file. A strong appeal will be made to them to support their representatives on the Commission, "loyally" to abide by its findings, to avoid, at all costs, industrial dislocation at this important crisis in the world's history.

Will the rank and file realise that the crisis is one in which they have a great part to play? Will they see that the struggle which is convulsing the world is the struggle of labour to establish Socialism, and that they must not shirk the issue, but take their stand on the side of the International working class? Will the miners lead the way in the British Section of the International Industrial Revolution?

More War.

The Enormous Cost of Fighting International Socialism.

In 1913–14 the Army Estimates were £28,346,000, for the year 1919–20 they reach the enormous sum of £440,000,000. Let there be no mistake about the fact that this money is being raised to fight Socialism.

Mr. Churchill says that there is an Allied Army in Archangel and Murmansk; its size he would not tell, but explained that it was half British and that whatever the Paris Conference might decide it could not leave till the summer was far advanced.

"Since they have got to stay they must be supported — with reinforcements — with everything they may require."

Strange, very strange, is it not, that reinforcements can be sent and yet the original force cannot be removed? Why cannot it be removed? Is it because of climatic conditions, or because the Government desires that it shall stay? "Further," said Mr. Churchill, "we have incurred heavy commitments to the people who have espoused our cause." The people? No! the Capitalists, the landlords and the Czarists; the few who had wealth, not the many who had scarcely the wherewithal to live!

In the Caucasus, too, Britain has "an army of moderate size." Again Mr. Churchill would have it that it is only there by accident. It went there to fight the Turks and then it just happened to stay "to maintain order in those wild regions and amongst those turbulent people pending the decision of the Peace Conference." How can it be pretended that an army is merely "maintaining order" when its engagements, victories, and reverses are constantly being recorded? "In this theatre we have no special British interests to serve." Indeed? Have we not heard of oil wells at Baku and other rich products, and was it not stated recently that this part of Russia would shortly be opened up as a profitable field of commercial enterprise? But Mr. Churchill had more to say: this Army was a source of support to General Dennikin to whom Britain is sending arms, munitions and equipment and "we have a military mission at General Dennikin's headquarters," and he gained an important victory last month and took 30,000 Bolshevik prisoners. And we have also some soldiers in Siberia, fighting with Colonel John Ward and Admiral Kolchak, the reactionary ruler who maintains his government on the revenue derived from vodka and on loans from Britain.

Mr. Churchill added that on an early date the Allied Governments must make up their minds as to their policy in Russia. He was careful to state that the decision must be made in Paris, the House of Commons is made to understand that it does not count. The Allied Governments must also come to a decision in regard to Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland and many other states which, he said, "are not yet engulfed in the area of Bolshevik devastation." Probably the Allies will desire to carry on the international civil war in those regions also. On the Rhine, too, he said a strong army must be maintained *after* the peace terms are signed.

The policy of the British Government is now clearly shown to include the maintenance of a great European Army. Churchill explained:

"Without this power we have no means whatever of influencing or guiding the course of events in Europe, except by starving everyone into Bolshevism."

Let it be clearly realised this policy of influencing by means of a big army is the policy alleged to have been pursued by Germany, the policy which Britain was supposed to condemn. But as we have always contended the policies of all capitalist and militarist powers closely approximate.

The Revolution in Hungary.

This declaration by Joseph Pogany of the Hungarian Workers' and Soldiers' Council of Hungary shows how matters are developing in that country.

"The political revolution, although apparently at an end, is in reality only beginning, and will be succeeded by a social revolution, which will only end when we have completely crushed the old system. There is a revolutionary Government, but it has not power over the country. The question is whether the Government is willing to carry through quickly the revolutionary transformation. We gave them a limited time to demolish the old system and the sources of its power. If they want to be masters they must crush the present landowners, capitalists and clergy. Not the small landowners but the farm labourers must carry out the land reform. In the development of Socialism they can proceed step by step, but the question of power must be settled now."

The German Socialist Revolution.

Germany is surely now in the throes of the second revolution, the equivalent of the Bolshevik revolution which gave all power to the Soviets. The murderers of Eisner and his colleagues by the reactionaries have hastened the upheaval, the martyrs have not died in vain. The memory of Liebknecht and Luxemburg is also playing its part in the struggle. The Allied Governments who fear and detest Bolshevism, are themselves helping to hasten its advent by the blockade, which is making life intolerable for the German people, and giving to them that courage born of despair which enabled them to plunge forward along the road of adventure which leads to the new civilisation.

Why are the allied capitalists pursuing this course, which, for them, is suicidal, though in spite of the present suffering it will ultimately benefit the workers? The allied capitalists are not, we think, united in their policies. Some, no doubt, are intent on squeezing further concessions from Germany by means of the blockade; and in thoroughly crushing her power of economic rivalry, others, those of the most militant temperament, believe it necessary to come to grips with Socialism. They desire a large and extended occupation of Germany and all the countries east of Germany in order to meet Socialism at every point which it has reached, and to exterminate it ere it spreads to allied countries.

But this very madness of animosity, which shrinks not from an even more horrible and extensive war than that from which we have just emerged, will inevitably hasten the coming of its antithesis—Socialism, the universal brotherhood of mankind.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, MARCH 7th.
Outside Mansfield Hotel, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price, Mr. J. G. Stone.
SATURDAY, MARCH 8th.
The Grove. Hammersmith.—3 P.M. and 6.30 P.M., Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and Mr. John Blythe.
SUNDAY, MARCH 9th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker, Mr. J. G. Stone.
Salmon & Ball.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
Finsbury Park.—3 P.M., John Syme.
TUESDAY, MARCH 11th.
Armagh Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, MARCH 14th.
The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
Pretoria Avenue, Walthamstow.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, MARCH 15th.
Great Push in Tottenham.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, MARCH 10th.
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
THURSDAY, MARCH 13th.
Chandos Hall, 21A, Maiden Lane.—7.30 P.M., John Rickman, "Truth about Russia." Chair: Miss N. Smyth.
20, Railway Street (W.S.F. Study Circle).—8 P.M., Mr. Edmunds, "Marxian Economics."
SUNDAY, MARCH 16th.
20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F.)—7 P.M., John Syme, "British Simpletons." Chair: Mrs. Cressall. (Postponed from March 9th.) Discussion.
FRIDAY, MARCH 21st.
400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M. General Meeting (London Section).

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY MARCH 11th.
Walthamstow League of Rights.
William Morris Hall. Somers Road.—3.30 P.M., Mr. J. G. Stone. Chair: Miss Horsfall.
THURSDAY, MARCH 13th.
Tooting Herald League. Labour Centre, 126, Upper Tooting Road.—8 P.M., Miss Marion Ellis, "Fighting the Famine."
FRIDAY, MARCH 21st.
400, Old Ford Road,—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee Meeting.

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Mr. Wm. McIntosh, 6*s.*; COLLECTIONS: Poplar W.S.F., £1; Bow People's Hall, 3*s.* 8*d.*; Ex-Inspector Syme, 2*s.*

SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. Marian Judson, £2; Mrs. M. Thurburn, £1; Nurse Hebbes (10*s.* weekly) £1; Sale of clothes, 10*s.*; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly) 10*s.*; per Miss Adlies Démant, 10*s.*; Miss E. K. Grainger, 10*s.*; Miss Ada Goodall, 7*s.*

Meetings advertised in this column one line free, each additional word one penny.

THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPAGANDA.

An extraordinary four page leaflet called "Reality: The World's Searchlight on Reconstruction," printed for "National Publications," by G. Burney Dibble, has reached us. It measures 10½ inches by 8¼ inches, is well printed on good paper and distributed free. You can get as many copies as you like from W. H. Smith, in England and Wales, or Menzies' in Scotland. We understand that it is issued by a Government department—the Ministry of Information. Its principal feature is a puff of the present Ministry, the majority of whose members are described as "men who have risen to high political rank by sheer personal merit, self-made men in fact." Of one member of the Government, Lord Inverforth, it is said: "He is a Glasgow business man, owning great wealth, which was acquired by his own energy and foresight, and not inherited. The possession of riches is certainly not a condition of admission to a Lloyd George Government, it is often, as in Mr. Weir's case, the sign and token of conspicuous abilities." It is often said that no man starting without capital can honestly make a fortune in his own lifetime. We say that the system is intolerable which allows one man to rise to wealth, whilst the majority of those who work for him have only the Old Age Pension, or the Workhouse to look forward to in their latter years. We say that the workers should put an end to this capitalist system. So long as the workers allow the Andrew Weir's and the Albert Stanley's of the world to govern, capitalism will be most carefully preserved.

In the same publication Lord Leverhulme informs the workers that labour is right to want higher wages earned in fewer hours, and possessing greater purchasing power in food, clothing, recreation, and housing. But "labour will never achieve that object by fight or might, or by suspicion and distrust of capital and the employer." Lord Leverhulme seems to suggest that capital and the employer possess all the virtues, that labour alone is fallible. Our reply is that since under the present system every one would prefer to be capital and the employer and not labour, and since even if we all follow Lord Leverhulme's advice to labour we cannot all be employers, we mean to secure a fairer system in which there shall be neither employer nor employed. In the same publication Mr. McCurdy, M.P., says that when the war is over "the spirit of anarchy and Bolshevism has to be laid to rest," and a cartoon reproduced from "Life" shows civilisation with a scythe tramping across a barren earth and "having cut down autocracy" in the act of disposing of "the other weed, anarchy." We are quite aware that to allied capitalism Socialism is an even more serious opponent than the competition of German capitalism. But are the people content to allow themselves to be taxed to produce literature for bolstering up capitalism? Truly no Government was ever so cynical as this!

READ THE DREADNOUGHT!

The Social Democratic Party of Dunedin, New Zealand, says:—

"A copy of THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT, edited by Sylvia Pankhurst, occasionally comes into our hands. We think it is the most advanced of any labour paper in the Empire. Its notes on the Russian Soviets, and also its notes on Workshop Control, showing the modern idea of the workers, taking a keen interest in the methods of control of labour power in the workshop itself not in a Union meeting once a month or once a quarter, but in every hour of every day, are so far reaching and so changing the whole thought of the Labour Movement in the Old Country, that we are strongly advising each of our members to subscribe to this paper. The annual subscription, post free, is 10*s.* 10*d.* The address of the manager is 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. Should you not care to go to the trouble of taking out Money Orders, the secretary will be pleased to send home the order for the paper for a year to anyone that desires it.—Yours sincerely MARK SILVERSTONE, President; ARTHUR MCCARTHY, Secretary."

* * * *

To the Editor of THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

DEAR COMRADE,—There has been recently a recrudence of the "Anarchist Peril" and the usual misrepresentation of Anarchists. May I intrude into your columns to explain? The attack on Clemenceau cannot be in any sense regarded as an anarchist "conspiracy" for the simple reason that anarchists do not conspire any more than do Socialists or other revolutionaries. Our aim, like theirs, is a social revolution, and this cannot be achieved by stray pot-shots at those of the bourgeoisie who make themselves extra inconvenient. Cotin did not shoot at Clemenceau because he was an anarchist any more than Crippen cut his wife up because he was a Roman Catholic. When a man kicks a dog and the dog bites, nobody suggests that the dog did so because it was an anarchist or a Seventh Day Adventist. There is nothing in Anarchism that encourages bomb-throwing. You will find all that in the military text-books. As Elbert Hubbard had it: "So long as Government make a practice of killing their enemies, private individuals will occasionally kill theirs. Hate springs eternal in the human breast."

One word more on the absurd manifesto of "nationalisation of women" attributed to an "Anarchist Club." May I point out that it is Socialists who believe in nationalisation and not Anarchists? The word "an-archy" itself means "no rule," and as Anarchists repudiate authority it is as absurd to saddle them with issuing orders as it is to saddle the Socialists with the above simply because they believe in the principle of nationalisation.—With best wishes, fraternally,

L. A. M.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

At the end of January, 1919, at Bourron Camp, General Estienne was reviewing his *tankers*. After his round he asked: "Which are those who want to go to Germany?" Only a few arms were raised. He looked baffled, then he at once retorted: "Well then, which are those who want to go to Morocco?" Very, very few hands were raised again. He appeared completely shaken. Then, raising his voice, he said: "No one for Germany, no one for Morocco: then you prefer to follow me to Russia. I understand now: come, my children, which are those who want to go to Russia?" This time it is the stunning blow: not a single candidate for the capitalist service!—*La Vague*, February 13th.

* * *

A London United Socialist Council has been inaugurated. Branch secretaries please notify the Hon. Secretary (pro tem.), W. Savage, 318, Green Lanes, N.4.

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